

THE LIBERATOR
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W.M. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

TERMS.

Two Dollars per annum, always payable IN
ADVANCE.
All letters and communications must be post
paid. Silence is imperative, in order to shield us
from the frequent impositions of our enemies.—
Those, therefore, who wish their letters to be taken
to the Post Office by us, will be careful to pay
postage.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.
The following article appeared in the Columbia
Times of last year. Mark the menaces held
by those who wield the whip!

We perceive from the Richmond Enquirer
that old Ritchie has a warm contest with the
fanatics and abolitionists, who are urging
the Congress to emancipate the slaves in the
District of Columbia. For our own part,
we think it useless to throw away argument
upon the fanatics of the north. Let them
take their course, and we will take ours.
The moment they touch the subject of slav-
ery, let the union be dissolved.

We give the following from the Richmond
Enquirer:

Through the South.—These fanatics are
fools, or knaves, or both. Whether is mad
enough to press an immediate abolition, at
the hazard, as he confesses, of dissolving
the union. And the New-York addressers
rest upon the abolition in the District of
Columbia, as "a measure in the power of
Congress, and so manifestly easy and safe,
that it ought not to be delayed another year."
And this is only to be the entering wedge
for other innovations on the part of Congress
—for they go on to say, that "when this is
done, we cannot but hope that some wise
application may be made of the power of
Congress to regulate commerce among the
several states, so as to effect the entire sup-
pression of the infamous Domestic Slave
Trade!" Thus the fanatics will proceed,
from one step to another. And we must
not let their course presents the only means
of saving our national union. Madmen
they are! they are yet to learn, that their
course is perhaps the only means for tearing
us from our asunder? If they are counten-
anced and encouraged by a considerable
party of the northern people, nothing can
be more auspicious of government that was ever devised
for advancing the liberties of mankind!

ANOTHER GAG!

We think the following articles are partic-
ularly worthy of a place in our "Refuge of Oppres-
sion."
ANDOVER THEO. SEM. Feb. 2, 1835.
To the Editor of the Boston Recorder.
Dear Sir,—Recent occurrences, which
need not here be detailed, render it incum-
bent to state in what attitude they now
stand in relation to the subject of Slavery.
We therefore request an insertion in your
paper of the following communication.
We would briefly premise, that a Com-
mittee on Colonization, in connection with
the Society of Friends, has existed here for
many years; and that most of the Students
have been advocates of the Colonization So-
ciety—but about two or three years since,
the Anti-Slavery Society was formed among
the students, from which they owe to themselves and the
public, to state in what attitude they now
stand in relation to the subject of Slavery.
We therefore request an insertion in your
paper of the following communication.

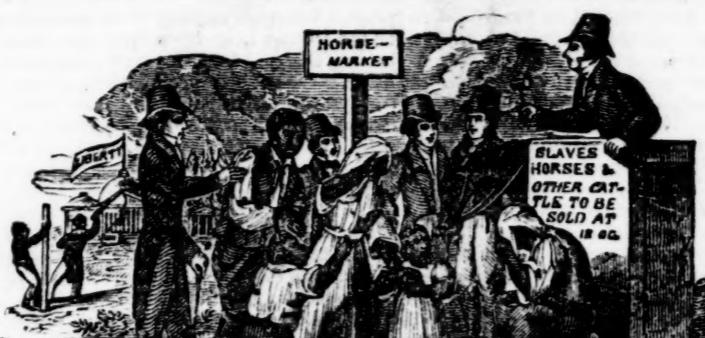
In behalf of the Faculty,
LEONARD WOODS.
Theo. Sem. Andover, Feb. 3, 1835.

THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. V.] OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. [NO. 6.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.]

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1835.



the heartfelt satisfaction we feel in the con-
duct pursued of late by the members of this
Institution, and in the position which they
have deliberately taken, relative to the sub-
ject of Slavery. They have felt, and we
trust ever will feel, a lively interest in this
subject, and a readiness to do what they can
for the present and eternal welfare of the
enslaved and oppressed. But when, at the
suggestion of the Faculty, they took the
matter into serious consideration, they soon
came, with entire unanimity, to the conclusion
that they could not form associations
and agitate the common questions in relation
to slavery, without endangering the spirit of
piety and brotherly love among them, and
essentially interfering with that intellectual
and moral improvement, which it is the grand
object of the Institution to promote. We
are gratified at the frank statement above
made of what they have done, because we
think it highly creditable to their character,
and because we hope that such an example
of sober consideration, Christian harmony,
and sacred regard to the order and prosper-
ity of the Seminary, exhibited by the whole
body of its members, will not be without
some salutary effect.

After these remarks on the harmonious
and brotherly conduct of the students, it
may not be improper to add, that on the sub-
ject of slavery, the Faculty are of one mind.

We take the liberty to say farther, while
we heartily wish success to every wise and
Christian effort, 'for the relief and improve-
ment of the colored race,' and for diminish-
ing and removing the evils of slavery; it is
a serious question with us, whether we, who
are called to the arduous work of training
up others for the sacred office, can consist-
ently take an active part, at present, in any
existing association formed with reference
to Slavery, or in any way intermeddle with it,
except so far as Christian benevolence
may require us to seek the highest good of
those in bondage, after the example of the
Apostle Paul, and other primitive ministers
of the gospel.

We have, with deep regret, noticed events
which have occurred in some seminaries of
learning and religion, where slavery has been
made a subject of special discussion and as-
sociated action: and we must say, we have
been unable to avoid the conviction, that this
absorbing subject, on which the community
is so divided, cannot be introduced into our
public institutions, as a subject of special
discussion at the present time, without in-
terfering more or less, with the duties of the
Instructors, and without essential injury to
the improvement and future usefulness of
the students. And we have little doubt, that
this will ere long be the judgment of all who
are entrusted with the great interests of our
literary and theological seminaries.

In behalf of the Faculty,
LEONARD WOODS.
Theo. Sem. Andover, Feb. 3, 1835.

SLAVERY.

TRAFFIC IN HUMAN SOULS.

The following handbill has been put into our
hands by a friend who was recently in New-Or-
leans, from which city he brought it. Read it, A-
mericans, and blush not merely for your country,
but for your species! Judge ye, by the paucity
passed upon them, whether the slaves are not qual-
ified for freedom.

VALUABLE
SERVANTS
FOR SALE AT AUCTION,
BY ISAAC L. MC'OY.

This day, THURSDAY, 27th inst., at 12
o'clock, at the
EXCHANGE COFFEE HOUSE,
WILL BE SOLD.

34 Valuable SERVANTS, viz:
1. Harry, aged about 26 years; a first
rate cartman, axeman and sawyer; has been
accustomed to work in a saw-mill and wood-
yard; has been about 8 years in the country,
and understands the care and management
of horses, and possesses an excellent character.

2. George, aged about 23 years; is a good
carter and axeman, and has been accustomed to
work in a wood-yard and bakery.

3. Altmore, aged about 21 years; a first
rate sawyer and axeman; accustomed to
work in a wood-yard, and has been 3 or 4
years in the country.

4. Barney, aged about 18 years; a first
rate negro, and handy at almost all kinds of
work; has been accustomed to work in a wood-yard, and
has been about 6 years in the country.

5. Henry Buckner, aged about 29 years;
a good axeman, sawyer and field hand, ac-
customed to work in a wood-yard, and has
been about 6 years in the country.

6. Lewis, aged about 20 years; a first
rate hand in a wood-yard, an excellent
butcher, good field hand; speaks French
and English, and has been about 10 years in
the country.

7. Sam Crumo, aged about 22 years; a
first rate hand in a wood-yard; a carter;
speaks French and English, and has been
about 12 years in the country.

8. Little Ned, aged about 18 years;
a good hand for wood-yard; has been one
year in the country.

9. Big Ned, aged about 22 years; do.
do.

10. Ben, aged about 20 years; do.
do.

11. Aaron, aged about 33 years; a
first rate hand for a wood-yard, in which he has
been employed for many years; is an ex-
cellent cartman; has been about 15 years in
the country, and speaks both languages.

12. Dick Jackson, aged about 25 years;
a good axeman and sawyer, and an excellent
hand for a wood-yard, to which he is accus-

tomed, and has been one year in the coun-
try.

13. Dick Morgan, aged about 39 years; a
very honest, trusty servant; has acted as
porter in a grocery store for several years,
and has worked for several years in a rope
walk and wood-yard; is an excellent ax-
eman and sawyer; has been in the country
since a child, and speaks French and Eng-
lish.

14. Dillard, aged about 31 years; a good
cook, a good axeman and sawyer; has work-
ed about 4 years in a wood-yard, and has
been about 4 years in the country.

15. Charles Palmer, aged about 24 years;
accustomed to work in a wood-yard; is a
good axeman, carter, and field hand, and
has been about 4 years in the country.

16. Daniel, aged about 18 years; a first
rate house servant; is very trusty; a toler-
able good cook; has been raised in the country;
speaks French and English, and possesses
a first rate character.

17. Anthony, aged about 15 years; a first
rate house servant; very trusty and active;
a good sawyer; has been raised in the country,
and possesses a first rate character.

18. Joseph, aged about 14 years; a first
rate servant; handy at all kinds of work;
has been accustomed to work in a wood-yard,
and has been about two years in the country.

19. William, aged about 20 years; a good
rough carpenter; a good coachman; has
been 5 years in the country; speaks French
and English, title only guaranteed.

20. Ned, aged about 39 years; a good
carpenter and ostler; has been about 4 years
in the country, and is subject to rheumatism.

21. Robert, aged about 23 years; a rough
blacksmith and carpenter; handy at all
kinds of work; understands filing and set-
ting saws; has been 8 years in the country,
speaks French and English; is a first rate
servant, and possesses a first rate character.

22. Peter, aged about 35 years; is a first
rate overseer, and has always been employ-
ed in that capacity; has been for 5 years in
Opelousas, and about 4 years in New Or-
leans, and is a very honest and trusty, and a first
rate servant in every respect.

23. Diana, aged about 24 years; (wife of
Peter) a first rate house servant, washer,
ironer and plater; a good cook; has been 5
years in the country; speaks French and
English, and possesses a first rate character.

24. Malinda, aged about 24 years; a good
house servant; a tolerable good washer and
ironer; has been raised in the country; and
speaks both languages.

25. Chloe, aged about 18 years; an excel-
lent house servant; was born in Mobile; has
been about one year in New Orleans, and
possesses an excellent character.

26. Daphney, aged about 25 years; is a first
rate cook, both in French and English
style, and a good pastry cook; was raised in
Mississippi, has been 7 years in New Or-
leans, and possesses an excellent character.

27. Catharine, aged about 27 years, good
field hand; was raised in the country; speaks
French, Spanish and English; title only
guaranteed.

—ALSO—

The following ORPHAN(!!) children, viz:

28. John, aged about 12 years.
29. James, aged about 11 years.
30. David, aged about 9 years.

31. Cyrus, aged about 9 years. They
have been about 16 months in the country.

32. Yellow Alex, aged about 8 years.

33. Black Alex, aged about 8 years.

34. Abraham, aged about 5 years.

The slaves are all thoroughly acculturated,
and with the exceptions above stated, are all
guaranteed against the diseases and vices
prescribed by law.

TERMS.—One-half of the purchase mon-
ey payable on the first of May, 1835; and
one-half on the first of May, 1836, for notes
drawn and endorsed to the satisfaction of the
seller, and secured by mortgage until final
payment. The slaves will only be delivered
after the acts are signed, and the notes deliv-
ered and approved. Bills of sale to be passed
before W. Y. Lewis, Esq., Notary Public,
at the expense of the purchaser.

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We have not perhaps done all which might
have been done, but we trust that through
the instrumentality of the Pawtucket Anti-
Slavery Society, much good has been done.

We have had frequent addresses from most
eminent speakers; among whom were the
Rev. Messrs. Blain, May, William Lloyd
Garrison of Boston, Charles Stuart and Geo.
Thompson of England, who have been lis-
tened to with candor by multitudes of our
citizens. We have made collections to the
sum of about one hundred dollars, to aid the
objects of the Society. We have spread
gratuitously a large number of books, pam-
phlets, and tracts on the subject of slavery.
We are confident that the cause among us
is gaining strength, and will ultimately tri-
umph over all opposition.

By contributions for the purpose of pur-
chasing and distributing publications calcu-
lated to throw light into the public mind on
the subject of slavery, every one can do some-
thing; and by every man's talking with his
neighbor, we may perhaps do as much; and
none should neglect to supplicate the throne
of God's grace most fervently and constant-
ly, for the 'suff'ring and the dumb.'

Real abolitionists have need to be watchful.
Their greatest danger, perhaps, lies not in
the opposition of those who resort to mob-
ing in order to crush them, but from those
who profess to be abolitionists, but in works
deny the doctrine;—from men who excuse
themselves from doing good, because for-
sooth, somebody else is advocating good
doctrine and a good cause, in a wrong spirit!

With as much grace and propriety might
Paul refused to have acted in the cause of
Christ, because Simon Magus professed re-
ligion! Let not abolitionists be deceived.
We hazard the unqualified belief, that it is
not the *manner* of abolitionists of which these
men are afraid—but their *principles*. These
they dare not espouse and carry through.
Nor is it the *manner* of abolitionists that dis-
turb and enrage the slaveholders and the
pillars of slavery at the North; but it is
their principles. Their unwavering and con-
stant assertion that slavery is a sin, a high-
handed transgression of God's holy law,
which should be immediately forsaken and
repented of. The bare assertion of this,
is branded as being harsh and censorious, while

REMARKS
OF
MR. DICKSON, OF NEW-YORK,
ON
THE PRESENTATION OF SEVERAL PETITIONS
FOR
THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY
AND THE SLAVE TRADE
IN THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

DELIVERED
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE UNITED STATES,
FEBRUARY 2, 1835.

MR. SPEAKER:—On the presentation of these petitions, and asking for them a different reference from that usually given to such petitions, I propose to offer a few remarks. They shall be presented in that blunted spirit of freedom and candor, truth and justice, that becomes a member of this House. I will not conceal my own feelings, and I shall studiously avoid intentionally injuring those of others. And whilst I am opposed to, and deeply deplore the existence of slavery in every form, and in every land, I, in common with the petitioners, disclaim all power in the National Government to control or abridge its duration in the several States of this Union. And throughout these remarks, in speaking of slavery in this country, I wish to be understood as confining my remarks to that portion of the country over which the National Government has ample and complete jurisdiction, and is the District of Columbia. One of the petitions is signed by more than eight hundred ladies of the city of New-York. In the Jewish, Greek, and Roman histories, we learn that female remonstrances and entreaties were often heard in the public councils, and in one instance, were the cause of "enlargement and deliverance" of "light, and gladness, and joy, and honor," to a despised and an oppressed people; and in all instances roused the patriot, the statesman, and the hero, to deeds of usefulness and glory, and were all-powerful in expanding and extending the principles of charity, humanity, and benevolence, and in breaking the chains of oppression. In the chivalrous ages of modern Europe, and since, and in the war of our independence, the influence of woman was talismanic over the heart of man, and roused to action all his noblest energies. And to her honor, all her remonstrances, petitions, and entreaties, and all her influence, have ever been exerted in favor of humanity, benevolence, and liberty. And surely, the chivalry of this House will never permit it to turn a deaf ear to the remonstrances of ladies, pleading, as they believe, for the wronged and the oppressed.

The petitioners complain that a portion of the people of the District of Columbia are, without crime, disqualified as witnesses. A

freeman may commit any crime, even murder itself, in the presence of slaves only, and escape conviction and punishment. They

complain that, by the laws of the District, which are the laws of Congress enacted to govern the same, every black man and every mulatto of every shade and complexion, though born and nurtured in freedom all his days, the moment he touches the soil of the District, is presumed a slave; and by an ordinance of the City of Washington, he is treated as a disorderly person, and required to exhibit to the Mayor, within thirty days, evidence of his freedom, and enter into a bond with two freedmen sureties, in the penalty of five hundred dollars, conditioned for his peaceful, orderly, and good conduct, and not to become chargeable to the Corporation for twelve months, to be renewed at the commencement of each year for two successive years, or forthwith depart from the city, or be committed to the work-house until he complies with such requisitions. Such imprisonment not to exceed twelve months for each neglect. So that the poor black, or mulatto, may be imprisoned at hard labor in the work house, for the term of three years, although innocent, and without crime.

He may have been well educated, moral, and industrious, have exercised the elective franchise, and voted for the highest officers of the National and State Governments, entitled to all the rights and privileges of the white man and of an American citizen; yet in this District he shall be presumed a slave, and in the City of Washington a disorderly person, and compelled to give security for his good behavior for three years. No such presumption of crime is known to the laws of England, to the civil law, nor to the municipal code of the most despotic country in Europe. It has no foundation in the law of nature, the common law, nor in common justice, and is contrary to the genius and spirit of all wise and free Governments. It is a maxim that every man is to be presumed free and innocent, founded on the immutable principles of eternal justice, acknowledged by all, and which can never be changed but by that arbitrary tyranny which feels power, forgets right, and knows neither mercy nor justice.

The petitioners complain that, by the laws of the District, every such free black man or mulatto, going at large without the evidence of his freedom, is liable to be taken up as a runaway slave, and thrown into prison, and sold for prison fees, as a slave for life, unless he proves his freedom! A freedom given him by a power older than the laws which incarcerated him—older than the country which gave him birth—older than the primal days of time, and which shall endure when this world is on fire, and time shall be no more—by God himself.

They complain that by the laws of that

part of the District formerly Maryland, that such person be a freeman, and prove his freedom, and shall then refuse to pay the fees and rewards for apprehending fugitive slaves, he may be committed to prison, and sold as a slave for life. So that a freeman, although he does away the before-mentioned odious presumptions of law by clear proof, must still pay for his own illegal arrest and false imprisonment, for being thrown into the dungeon, and shut out from the light of day, for all the injuries, indignities and wrongs that could be heaped upon him, or be sold as a slave, and never more to breathe the air of freedom. Terrible alternative! more afflictive to a human being, having the feelings of a man, of a freeman, than death itself. Such laws are meshes to entrap the unwary, and to consign a freeman to servitude for life. They are man-traps set at the seat of Government of this Republic, to seize and drag into perpetual bondage a freeman, entitled to all the rights and privileges of an American citizen. Does such a statute blot the page or tarnish the annals of any other Republic on earth? Does it dishonor the pages of any monarchy or despotism now in the world? The tyranny of Caius Verres, in a province of the Roman Empire, was mercy when compared with such a law. Many, very many freemen, have

fallen victims to this merciless law, and lost all dear to them on this side of the grave.

The petitioners complain of the severity of the punishments that may, by the laws of the District, or of that part of it which was formerly Maryland, be inflicted on slaves; that any negroes, or other slaves, for rambling by night, or the riding of horses by day, without leave, may be punished by whipping, cropping, branding, or otherwise, not extending to life, or rendering them unfit for labor; and for murder, arson, and petit treason, to have the right hand cut off, to be hanged, to have the head severed from the body, the body divided into four quarters, and the head and quarters to be set up in the most public places of the county where the crime was committed. Such criminal laws, if not executed, and it is not pretended they are, to their full extent, appear like the relic of an extreme barbarous age, and in this enlightened and humane age of the world, are a foul blot on our statute book, and ought to be modified, or repealed.

The petitioners complain, that, by the laws of the United States, the slave trade, and through the District of Columbia, is permitted to be carried on with distant States, and that this District is the principal mart of the slave trade of the Union.

Sir, the foreign slave trade with Africa is condemned by the laws of this country, of England, of France, and by those of almost every nation of the civilized world, as piracy; and those who carry it on are denounced as outlaws and the common enemies of the human race. And yet we tolerate, in this District, and at our seat of Government, a traffic productive of as much pain, anguish, and despair, of as deep atrocity, and as many accumulated horrors, as the slave trade with Africa.

And here, there are no foreign Powers to compete with us; we have no rivals; the trade is all ours, and the odium and the guilt are all our own. The traffic was, in former years, presented by a grand jury of the District as a nuisance. And, as long ago as the year 1816, it was denounced by the ardent and eloquent John Randolph, of Roanoke, on this door, as a nuisance, and as "an inhuman and illegal traffic in slaves;" and, on his motion, a select committee was appointed to inquire into the trade, and what measures were necessary for putting a stop to it. The committee were empowered to send for persons and papers; called before them many witnesses, and took numerous depositions, depicting in glowing terms the cruelties and horrors of the traffic, and reported them to this House. But I do not find that any thing further was done by that talented, but sometimes eccentric man, or by the House.

Since that time the slave trade in the District has increased in extent, and in its cruelties. Free blacks have been kidnapped, hurried out of the District, and sold for slaves.

Slaves for a term of years have been sold to the slave traders, transported to a distant land, beyond the hope or possibility of relief; sold as slaves for life, and their temporary

holdings, and their temporary, as well as their right to enslave the white man, as any slaveholder in this District for his right to hold in bondage the black man or the mulatto.

It has been regretted by a Committee of this House "that persons without the District," as members of Congress, have, "having no concern with it," should attempt to procure the abolition of slavery and the slave trade here, and it was in the year 1829, declared by a member of the House, in debate on this floor, to be meddling with matters truly other men's.

Sir, the territory is Federal, and is under the care, protection, and government of the whole people of the United States. Congress is the sole legislative body for the District, to the exclusion of all others, and here possessing undefined, unlimited legislative powers, selected by the people of the whole Union. The whole Union defrays the expenses of the local Legislature and of the entire territorial government, builds penitentiaries, endows schools and colleges, makes side walks, macadamized roads, canals, aqueducts, and bridges, pays the interest on loans, and beautifies and adorns the District by its Navy Yards, its arsenals, its capitol, and other public buildings and improvements, and enriches it by the annual expenditure of millions.

Every member of the House may, with or without petition, originate, bring forward, and propose to Congress any bill for the benefit of, or in any way concerning his own immediate district, his State, or any State in the Union. His powers for such purpose are, and must be, coextensive with the jurisdiction of Congress. The power is incident to all legislative assemblies, having a general jurisdiction and the power of legislation. It is not only the right, but the duty of a member, to watch over, and with vigilance to guard, protect, and promote the interests of all parts of the country. And shall it be said that he has no right and power to propose laws for the District of Columbia, to do away with wrongs and oppressions here, where his powers of legislation are more unlimited than in any other part of the Union? The idea that he cannot, seems to me preposterous. And if a member has such right, surely his mind may be enlightened, his attention awakened to corruption, crimes, or oppressions here, and his patriotism roused to action, by the petitions of his constituents, or of the people of any other portion of his country. In this District every member of Congress and every citizen of the republic should feel a deep and lively interest. They have voice in selecting its rulers; they all contribute to defray its expenses, and they all have a deep concern in its honor and glory, and have a right to be heard in the legislative assembly, in all matters concerning the appropriation of money here or the correction of abuses, oppressions, and tyranny. As the seat of their empire, under the superintending power of the General Government, they have a right to require that it shall be governed in accordance with our Declaration of Independence, and the principles of free government, and that the despotism of Archangel and of Turkey should not prevail here.

In the last debate, and in the last speech made on this floor on this subject, it was denied that these words meant, or had any allusion to slaves, and was asserted that many of the signers of the Declaration were masters of thousands; and had they an eye at all to slaves when they signed it, they would have been hypocrites unworthy of being commemorated by patriots, or honest men?

Then slaves are not men, for the terms used were the broadest that could be used, and embraced the whole species. Let us consider for one moment whether the blacks and the mulattoes of this country are men like ourselves, and whether the signers of our Declaration of Independence were hypocrites.

Heathen poetry instructs us that man, a generic term, embracing the whole species, all sexes, all ranks and conditions, all colors, and all complexions, was created in the resemblance of the Gods, and that while other animals looked upon the earth and never raised their eyes, to him was given, by his God, a countenance of dignity, and lofty grandeur, and he was commanded to behold Heaven, and raise his elevated looks to the starry mansions and the abodes of the Eternal.*

The Heathen philosophers teach us that man was created in the likeness of the Almighty, of God; and neither Heathen poetry nor Heathen philosophers, ever informed us of the creation of more than one species of man. By their doctrines, man was created the brother of his fellow man, and his equal. The Old Testament informs us that "God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him," and gave him dominion over all the earth, the fish, the birds, the fowls of the air, and every creeping thing, but no dominion over, and no power to enslave his fellow-man.

And here, again, we learn the creation of one species of man. Christianity, in all its holy precepts, and the New Testament, instruct us that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth." Pausanias cum spectant animalia cetera Deorum;

O homini sublimis dedit; ecce unius uero.

Ju sit erectos ad sidera uero uolu.

Ovid's Met. B. 1. Verse 35, &c.

fallen victims to this merciless law, and lost all dear to them on this side of the grave.

The petitioners complain of the severity of the punishments that may, by the laws of the District, or of that part of it which was formerly Maryland, be inflicted on slaves; that any negroes, or other slaves, for rambling by night, or the riding of horses by day, without leave, may be punished by whipping, cropping, branding, or otherwise, not extending to life, or rendering them unfit for labor; and for murder, arson, and petit treason, to have the right hand cut off, to be hanged, to have the head severed from the body, the body divided into four quarters, and the head and quarters to be set up in the most public places of the county where the crime was committed. Such criminal laws, if not executed, and it is not pretended they are, to their full extent, appear like the relic of an extreme barbarous age, and in this enlightened and humane age of the world, are a foul blot on our statute book, and ought to be modified, or repealed.

The petitioners complain, that, by the laws of

the United States, the slave trade, and through

the District of Columbia, is permitted to be

carried on with distant States, and that this

District is the principal mart of the slave

trade of the Union.

Sir, the foreign slave trade with Africa is

condemned by the laws of this country, of

England, of France, and by those of almost

every nation of the civilized world, as piracy;

and those who carry it on are denounced as

outlaws and the common enemies of the hu-

man race. And yet we tolerate, in this Dis-

trict, and at our seat of Government, a traffic

productive of as much pain, anguish, and de-

spair, of as deep atrocity, and as many accu-

mulated horrors, as the slave trade with Af-

rica.

Enlightened citizens of a Christian country, they shall be presumed to have spoken as Christian men; and none but infidels, and those who deny the authenticity of the Scriptures, will pretend that God ever created more than one species, one race of men. They were hypocrites. They were patriots, nobly struggling for their country's freedom; their hearts were warmed with the fires of liberty; they breathed benevolence and good will to the human race, and deferential homage to the Ancient of Days, proclaimed aloud to the bond and free, the truth, impressed alike on the heart of the self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Did they mean slaves? Can any one doubt that they did? They spoke of man not as black, or white, but as embracing the entire species, all colors and all complexions.

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all Congress before a view of the emancipated, equal just forth in the warm words of men contending of England's owned head those tyrants could not end God! how Zen, before the spirit of that proclaim our here, this District the treads in the genius of that language wounded; no compatible with an sun may ever in what have been that solemnly on the altar touches the sun, but of the and the god soul walks chains that stands rethrallled, by the motion, sole, and de- which were or- was decided nays 77, n-

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Monday, February 16, 1835.

Mr. Evans presented the petition of a large number of citizens of Waterville and Vassalborough, in the State of Maine, praying for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, and stated in brief terms, his acquaintance in the general sentiments and objects of the memorial, and his hope at no distant day, the attention of Congress would be given to the subject; and that so far as he could tread on firm constitutional ground, he should go promptly and unhesitatingly. The subject was not free from difficulties, but he trusted they would all be overcome by the wisdom, perseverance, patriotism, and philanthropy which Congress might bring to its consideration.

Other similar memorials had been already referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia; he moved that same reference of this, in the hope that the Committee would, at some early period, present a report.

Mr. Phillips said he was about to present a memorial in favor of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. It was signed by 1249 male citizens, who are all represented to be legal voters; and also by 263 ladies, of the county of Essex, in the State of Massachusetts.

These memorials, said Mr. Phillips, are many of them known to me to be of the most respectable character and standing. They respectfully and earnestly entreat the attention of Congress to the object to which their memorial is confined. The sentiments which they utter are just, and humane, and patriotic; the motives by which they were evidently actuated are commendable; and the object which they seek may be accomplished, and can only be accomplished by the action of Congress. Upon these grounds their memorial is entitled to consideration; and I move it to them and to the House to decide, that while I am opposed, and that this memorial should be disposed of in a similar manner.

Mr. Fillmore said, as it was understood that the Committee on the District of Columbia would not act upon this subject at the present session, it was certainly due to the petitioners that the motion which had been made by his colleague (Mr. Dickson) should prevail. It was not unreasonable that the memorial should be printed and preserved among the documents of the House. He disavowed most unequivocally, now and forever, any desire on his part to interfere with the rights, or what was termed the property, of the citizens of other States. While he did this, he conceived that as a citizen of the State of New-York, and a member of this House, he was interested in the claim to property in man, within the District of Columbia. He referred to the effect which was produced in the North by the advertisements in the papers of this city, connected with the purchase and transportation of slaves. The people of that section of the country believed slavery to be improper, and that it should not be tolerated. This was a great national question. There was nothing in the memorial which should prevent its being printed and placed on the files of the House for future reference. Whenever petitions should be presented here from the slaveholding States, of a different tenor, and which might advocate the establishment or continuance of slave markets in this District and City, if they could satisfy the people of other sections that this was proper, he would treat their petitions with respect. He was willing that each party should be fully heard, and that each should have the privilege of spreading their views before the people generally, and, if needful, deliberate investigation.

Towards the abolition of slavery within the States, I am only desirous that the General Government, at a proper time, should contribute to the extent of its ability, such as may be acceptable, and can be judicially applied; but in respect to the object which this memorial discloses, I cannot doubt that there are existing evils which require a legislative remedy at our hands, in such form as our wisdom may devise. I cannot doubt that a period must arrive when the emancipation of slavery within this District will be regarded, in its obvious aspects, as disgraceful to the nation, contrary to public opinion, and subversive alike of the rights of slaves and the interests of free citizens. The period, in my humble judgment, will have arrived as soon as the facts and arguments contained in such memorials as this, shall obtain a dispassionate, candid, and deliberate investigation.

Mr. McKinley regretted that this discussion had sprung up. He thought it manifested more zeal than prudence. He inquired if the printing was intended to enlighten the House or the country? It was admitted on all hands that no action was to take place upon this subject at this session. That being the case, what object would be attained by printing this memorial? He considered it one of the most imprudent memorials which had ever been read in this House. It was a fire-brand from one of the Northern States, which had been thrown into this House, and was, for one, opposed to giving it any publicity. He denied that this House had the right to lay their hands upon his property, let him live where he might. There was no disrespect intended to the memorialists by refusing to print their memorial. It had been received by the House, and that, he contended, was sufficient. Nothing more ought to be expected. He cared not whether it had come from a Mayor of a City or the President of the United States. That doctrine is contrary to any expressed wish of theirs.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. Dickson then moved that the memorial and names annexed be printed.

Mr. Boon called for a division of the question.

The motion to print the memorial was then agreed to.

The question being on printing the memorial, Mr. Dickson asked the yeas and nays, and they were refused.

Mr. Wise moved to reconsider the vote on the motion to print the memorial, and therefore he asked the yeas and nays, which were ordered.

Mr. Hester called for the reading of the memorial, and after its reading,

Mr. Dickson stated that the memorial was signed by the Mayor of Rochester, and the President of the Anti-Slavery Society of that place, including individuals of both of the political parties.

Mr. Chinn said, that he hoped the motion to reconsider would prevail. He saw nothing which distinguished this memorial from any other upon the subject. Although it was signed, as the gentleman from New-York had stated to the House, by the Mayor of Rochester and other distinguished persons, he could not perceive that this fact entitled it to a consideration different from that which was given to others. It presents no new argument; it states no fact but what was contained in others; and the grievances which it recites are common to all which have been offered here. It was unnecessary for him to assert that these grievances were in the main unfounded. If this memorial were printed, why not print all which had been offered? There was no difference between them; if there were, it was not such as to entitle this to unusual consideration. He did not know that he ever would discuss it. The whole mischief, perhaps, consisted in discussion. This had been, and still was, his opinion; and he had always acted in conformity with it. He hoped the motion would prevail, and that the same disposition would be made of this as of the many others which had been presented.

Mr. Bouldin said that he had not supposed he would vote for the printing of this memorial until he heard it read. But after having heard it read, he should vote for printing it; not because he approved of the presenting of it, or of the object of it; nor that he dissented from the general propositions about liberty and slavery in it; but because he wished his constituents to know what feelings were entertained by their northern brethren (some of them) of slavery and slaveholders, and the means of abolishing slavery.

He said he was unwilling to draw any comparisons between the country that he had the honor in part to represent, and any other portion of the Union, but every remark about slavery, and slaveholders, and slave-markets, made in that memorial, in relation to this District, applied equally to the habits, customs and legal rights of the people of all the South. He wished them to see what those opinions and feelings were; and therefore, and for that only, he should vote for printing the memorial.

Mr. Johnson, of Louisiana, hoped that the motion to reconsider would prevail, and that the memorial would be laid on the table. He repudiated the interference of the Northern with the rights and property of the people of the Southern States. Whenever the North should succeed in procuring legislation by Congress in regard to these rights and this species of property, that moment the Union would be dissolved.

Mr. Boon said, as he had asked for a division of the question, and belonged to a non-slaveholding State, it was perhaps proper that he should say a word or two. There was no person more opposed to slavery than himself; but while he was opposed to the principle, he was also opposed to interfering with those rights to property which were guaranteed to the citizens of particular States and Districts by the Constitution of the United States. It would be recollected that this question, when the subject of the admission of Missouri into the Union was before the House, had come very near dividing the Union. He thought the same course which had been adopted by the gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Phillips,) in presenting a similar memorial this morning, which was, to move that it be laid on the table, was the proper one, and that this memorial should be disposed of in a similar manner.

Mr. Fillmore said, as it was understood that the Committee on the District of Columbia would not act upon this subject at the present session, it was certainly due to the petitioners that the motion which had been made by his colleague (Mr. Dickson) should prevail. It was not unreasonable that the memorial should be printed and preserved among the documents of the House. He disavowed most unequivocally, now and forever, any desire on his part to interfere with the rights, or what was termed the property, of the citizens of other States. While he did this, he conceived that as a citizen of the State of New-York, and a member of this House, he was interested in the claim to property in man, within the District of Columbia. He referred to the effect which was produced in the North by the advertisements in the papers of this city, connected with the purchase and transportation of slaves. The people of that section of the country believed slavery to be improper, and that it should not be tolerated. This was a great national question. There was nothing in the memorial which should prevent its being printed and placed on the files of the House for future reference. Whenever petitions should be presented here from the slaveholding States, of a different tenor, and which might advocate the establishment or continuance of slave markets in this District and City, if they could satisfy the people of other sections that this was proper, he would treat their petitions with respect. He was willing that each party should be fully heard, and that each should have the privilege of spreading their views before the people generally, and, if needful, deliberate investigation.

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Mr. C. P. White moved to lay the motion to re-consider, and the memorial itself, on the table.

On a question from Mr. Wise, some conversation arose on the point, whether, if the motion to lay on the table prevailed, the motion to print, which had been announced by the Chair as adopted, would be considered and recorded as adopted? Mr. Wise, Mr. J. Q. Adams, and Mr. Briggs, participated therein.

The Chair said, it was a matter not entirely belonging to him, but as the question had been put to him, he should say, that the Clerk of the House could not order the memorial to be printed, inasmuch as there would be, if the motion to lie on the table prevailed, a motion pending to re-consider the vote to print the memorial. The motion to lie on the table prevailing, would not finally dispose of the matter, because the House might call it up, on doing which the question would recur on the motion to re-consider.

Mr. Dickson asked for the yeas and nays, which were ordered.

Mr. Ghosh appealed to the gentleman

memorial, he should feel it his bounden duty to vote to put their petition upon the files of the House, and he should continue to urge it with all the zeal of which he was capable, at the same time with all due consideration to the feelings, prejudices, interests, and rights of others, and which they were entitled to require at his hands. This he should do until the Committee on the District of Columbia, or some other select Committee of the House, answered the question, and told us, at the same time giving their reasons, whether Congress had a right to legislate on this subject or not, and until the House had concurred in that decision.

Mr. Dickson then withdrew that part of the motion proposing to print the names of the subscribers to the memorial.

Mr. Clay said: He was even more opposed to the printing of the memorial itself, than he was to printing the names appended to it, which he regarded as a matter of little consequence compared with the other. He was decidedly opposed to the publication of such a document. In spite of all the fair professions heard there upon the subject as to any non-interference with the rights, interests, and property of the southern States, or any other property of this kind, gentlemen must be forgetful of the domestic policy and every thing else concerning the peace and tranquillity of those States, when they ask for the printing and publication of a document like the one under consideration. Are these gentlemen ignorant that the printing and publishing of documents of this kind in almost all the southern States are prohibited under high and heavy penalties? And would they compel, or at least sanction the publication of documents by Congress, for doing which, if a southern tribunal could lay their hands upon a printer doing the same on his individual responsibility, he would be treated and punished as a culprit? Do they call this non-interference with the rights of property, where slavery prevails? Gentlemen might disclaim any intention of interfering with this subject; but when he heard such disclaimers as those made by the gentleman from New-York, covered by so thin a veil, as he had employed, Mr. C. could not yield his assent to them. The gentleman told us that this was a subject he had no intention of interfering with, while at the same time he called it a great national question, and consequently one that ought to be agitated in that House. Was it not a subject against which southern people should decidedly protest? And was it not one calculated to excite the most direful calamities in that portion of the Union, whence Mr. C. and many of his friends came?

Mr. C. had no hesitation in giving an qualified contradiction to the supposition that it was the wish of the intelligent and enlightened citizens of the Northern and Middle States to agitate this question. It was confined to a few fanatics, urged and guided by the Garrisons, the Tappans, and others, their wire-workers, and who recently attracted public attention, and whose object was well known. He did not, he could not bring himself to believe that it was the wish of the great mass of the population of the New England or Middle States, to bring on this matter. We're we to be told, because a handful of fanatics, who were ready to light the torch of disaffection and civil discord through the country, were moving on this subject, that it was matter connected with the national prosperity, or that it was a matter of right to that description of individuals, to discuss and agitate the subject in that House?

The gentleman from New-Jersey, (Mr. Parker) called upon the Committee for the District of Columbia to report on the subject, in order that it might be discussed and investigated. Why, that was the very course of proceeding calculated to produce the evils contemplated; evils of such a character as no good citizen in any part of this wide-spread and extensive Union ought for a moment to desire. Mr. C. would inquire, how came it that this was a matter of such concern to those individuals? Did it interfere with their domestic policy, their domestic rights, their liberty, their property, or their security, in any point of view? He was at a loss to perceive how it could. Why was it, then, that those persons sought to interfere with the domestic policy of others? It could not be denied, that this was a matter of domestic right and policy; and on what grounds, then, could they find themselves warranted or justified in interfering to give direction to that policy? It was a matter that concerned not them, either individually, or as a community. Until the Committee for the District of Columbia, or some other Committee, should report, the gentleman from New-Jersey tells us he should hold himself ready and willing to receive and print all memorials on the subject. But had the people of the District called upon Congress to legislate on the subject? They had not, and why should Congress be called upon by others to give a new direction to the domestic policy of others, without consent first obtained? That doctrine is contrary to any expressed wish of theirs. These petitioners might, with equal propriety, memorialize the Legislature of Virginia, or the Legislature of any other State, and call upon them, in the name of national honor, to reverse their policy, and abolish the laws authorizing the holding of property of this kind.

Mr. C. in conclusion said, for his own part, after the admission, which seemed to have been made on all hands, that this was a matter belonging to the People holding this peculiar species of property, and after the disclaimer that had been made of non-interference, and in the absence of any petition from the inhabitants of the District of Columbia, and without any call on the part of any of the States where property of this kind existed, he did think that these gentlemen ought not to press this subject, in any form whatever, upon the consideration of the House.

Mr. C. P. White moved to lay the motion to re-consider, and the memorial itself, on the table.

The gentleman says, he will ever respect the property of the States, but he claims to legislate away the property of this District. Sir, a slave is as much property here as in Virginia; property by law and the constitution. And I appeal to the gentlemen for the truth of the remarkable fact that the emigrants from the North to the South, some from the gentleman's own district, perhaps, are as ready to become masters as any who are hereditary masters. To strengthen their nerves and change their whole principles and opinions on the subject, they have but to change their claims, their havens. And if they choose to remain at home, they may cease to take those odious duties. If slavery was abolished in this District, I know not what would restrain the press still from publishing advertisements. And if the papers here cease to publish for runaways and purchasers of slaves, still the gentlemen would have to cease taking the papers of the South, or to silence them too. Sir, slavery is interwoven with our very political existence, is guaranteed by our constitution, and its consequences must be borne with by our Northern brethren, as resulting from our system of Government; and they cannot attack the institution of slavery without attacking the institutions of the country, our safety and welfare.

On a question from Mr. Wise, some conversation arose on the point, whether, if the motion to lay on the table prevailed, the motion to print, which had been announced by the Chair as adopted, would be considered and recorded as adopted? Mr. Wise, Mr. J. Q. Adams, and Mr. Briggs, participated therein.

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LITERARY, MISCELLANEOUS AND MORAL.

LITERARY.

[For the Liberator.]
THE REBUKE.
Must man forever live a slave,
Where shouts of freedom rend the air?
And patriot fathers dared to brave
The tumult and the strife of war?

Let Europe's servile subjects fall
Obsequious at the tyrant's feet,
And willing pay the homage small
That slaves to regal grandeur meet.

Let them the conqueror fain assist,
To grasp the only bubble fame,
All, all their high-born powers enlist,
For him to earn a fleeting name.

Degraded beings! must the thrall
Of ages sink to the dust?
Nor can you power sufficient call
Oppression's arm base to thrust?

Not so with us; the noble plant
Of liberty is spreading wide;
The wretched of all nations pant
Beneath its stanching hands to hide.

None who unequal laws decree,
Obeyance ask none dare refuse;
Nor will the meaneest of the tree,
Ambition's houghty slaves amuse.

Forbear! a scornful voice replies;
In vain the distant ocean roars,
It cannot drown the piercing cries,
That echo on our rugged shores.

Your songs of triumph raised around,
Come mingled with the shrieks of pain;
Our ears unceasing catch the sound
Of galling fetters and the chain.

Yet for Poland's lot can mourn,
And vengeance for her wrongs invoke;
For Greece's far-famed sons can burn,
Who laugh beneath the Turkish yoke.

But o'er your own high boasted land,
Oppression's form can fearless stalk,
While insults high and scoffs attend,
Who dare the ear of freedom rock.

Away with slavery! let the sound
Of bursting prisons fill the air;
Your ground will then be hallowed ground,
The freemen find a country there.

But till that hastening moment come,
Restrain your tears for foreign woes;

And let those eager mouths be dumb,
When prayers for foreign freedom rose.

W. B. O.

Lynn, 2nd mo. 1835.

BY REQUEST.]

ODE, written by a gentleman of East Sudbury, and sung by the choir of Rev. Mr. White's Church, after the delivery of an Anti-Slavery Discourse.

1. America! exult sound,

To freemen dear;

They name's a spell to summon round,

From Liberty's enchanted ground,

All who, to love of Freedom bound,

Have sought her here;

Our Fathers' blood has seal'd thy fame,

Then let their sons thy glorious name

Revere.

2. Against oppression's iron hand,

They nobly fought;

A fearless, mighty, conquering band,

To fall as men, or nobly stand,

As freemen ought;

Proud victors in the glorious strife,

Our freedom with their blood, their life,

They bought.

3. And is there then no slavery here,

America?

Go! see that Afric Mother's tear—

Go! see that Sister weeping near—

Go! if there more would know, and hear—

That Maiden's sigh;

Her lover's gone she wists not where,

But lays her down, in cold despair,

He's gone.

4. Mother! why sad and abject?" "Why?

I weep a son."

(She raises not her eyes on high,

She points not to the upper sky,

Her grief is not for those who die.)

"My son has gone;

He's now upon the ocean's wave,

Your freemen took him for a scare—

He's gone."

5. And does thy soil a slave contain,

America?

Oh! blot it out, thy glory's stain;

Rise, freemen! burst the galling chain,

Break thro' the bonds his soul restrain,

Fre— the oppressed—

Fear not, for God protects the right;

Then onward in the glorious fight—

Tis won!

6. Awake! arise! ye patriot hand;

Ye hoisted free;

Rise! seize your brethren by the hand,

Their God, their souls, your aid demand;

Burst, burst their chains; make this a land

Of Liberty;

Resolve it shall not hold a Slave;

But Freedom's home, or Freedom's grave,

Shall be.

[For the Liberator.]

THE SLAVE SHIP.

'Twas midnight.—On the dark blue sea,
The moon looked fair in heavenly light;

The storm was o'er—and silently

The vessel plough'd through waters bright.

Their voyage of danger, on the main,

Knew with success is almost o'er;

And, hopeful of their homes again,

They anxiously look'd out for shore.

And they talked of liberty and love,

Of home and all the dear ones there;

And of grateful hearts to the God above,

And the holy offering of prayer.

But a wailing voice is heard below—

A voice from a wretched mother there,

The deepest plaint of human woe,

Mangled with the voice of prayer.

Father of light and love,

Hear me! I pray—

Look from thy throne above!

Turn not away!

Avenge me of my foe!

Trembling and weak,

This heart beneath its wo—

Oh, let it break!

Didst thou not make me, God?

Am I not Thine?

Look from thy high abode

Down upon me.

Have mercy on the slave—

Give me to die!

Let Ocean be my grave—

Hear from on high.

God bless my baby boy,

Far, far, away—

Sweet infant, mother's joy,

How shall I pray,

In words of such distress

As rends my heart?

Poor baby! motherless—

God, take his part!

Keep him in danger's hour,
Within Thy hand,
Far from the white man's power,
In Afric's land.
Vengeance is Thine, oh God!
Look on our woes—
Avenge us of our blood—
Destroy our foes!

Keep him in danger's hour,
Within Thy hand,
In Afric's land.
Vengeance is Thine, oh God!
Look on our woes—
Avenge us of our blood—
Destroy our foes!

Keep him in danger's hour,
Within Thy hand,
In Afric's land.
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Avenge us of our blood—
Destroy our foes!

remedy for this evil; but to the interrogator, who told you this? he could not identify any one, but remarked that his brother-in-law, Mr. Redfern, told him that he would have no more business, because he was opposed to the President—and he believed Redfern to be in league with the President against him. Again, being questioned, whether he had often attended the debates in Congress, during the present session, and whether they had influenced him in making this attack on the person of the President, he replied that he had frequently attended the discussions in both branches of Congress, but that they had, in no degree, influenced his action.

Upon being asked if he expected to become the President of the United States, if General Jackson had fallen, he replied no. When asked whom he wished to be the President, his answer was, there were persons in the House of Representatives, on being asked if there were no persons in the Senate, yes, several; and it was the Senate to which I alluded. Who, in your opinion, of the Senate, would make a good President? He answered, Mr. Clay, Mr. Webster, Mr. Calhoun. What do you think of Col. Benton, Mr. Van Buren, or Judge White, for President? He thought they would do well. On being asked if he knew any member of either House of Congress, he replied that he did not—and never spoke to one in his life, or they to him. On being asked what benefit he expected to himself from the death of the President, he answered he could not rise unless the President fell; and that he expected thereby to recover his liberty, and that the mechanics would all be benefited; that the mechanics would have plenty of work; and that money would be more plenty. On being asked why it would be more plenty, he replied, it would be more easily obtained from the Bank.

On being asked what bank, he replied, the Bank of the United States. On being asked if he knew the President, Directors, or any of the officers of the Bank, or had ever had any intercourse with them, or knew how he could get money out of the Bank, he replied no—that he slightly knew Mr. Smith only. On being asked with respect to the speeches which he had heard in Congress, and whether he was particularly pleased with those of Messrs. Calhoun, Clay, and Webster, he replied that he was a painter by trade, and had followed that occupation to the present time; but, of late, could not find steady employment; which had caused much pecuniary embarrassment with him; that he had been generally temperate in his habits, using ardent spirits moderately when at work; but, for the last three or four weeks, had not taken any; that he had never gambled, and in other respects had led a regular, sober life.

Upon being interrogated as to the circumstances connected with the attempted assassination, he said that he had been deliberating on it for some time past, and that he had called at the President's house about a week previous to the attempt, and being conducted to the President's apartment by the porter, found him in conversation with a member of Congress, whom he believed to have been Mr. Sutherland, of Pennsylvania; that he stated to the President that he wanted money to take him to England, and that he must give him a check on the bank, and the President remarked, that he was too much engaged to attend to him—he must call another time, for Mr. Dibble was in, waiting for an interview. When asked about the pistols which he had used, he stated that his father left him a pair, but not being alike, about four years since he exchanged one for another which exactly matched the best of the pair; these were both flint locks, which he recently had altered to percussion locks, by a Mr. Boteler; that he had been frequently in the habit of loading and firing those pistols at marks, and that he had never known them to fail going off on any other occasion, and that, at the distance of ten yards, the ball always passed through an inch plank.—He also stated, that he had loaded those pistols three or four days previous, with ordinary care, for the purpose attempted; but that he used a pencil instead of a ram rod, and that during that period, they were at all times carried in his pocket; and when asked why they failed to explode, he replied, he knew no cause. When asked why he went to the Capitol on that day, he replied that he expected the President would be there. He also stated, that he was in the Rotundo when the President arrived, and on being asked why he did not then attempt to shoot him, he replied, that he did not wish to interfere with the funeral ceremony, and therefore waited till it was over. He also observed, that he did not enter the Hall, but looked through a window from the lobby, and saw the President seated with members of Congress, and he then returned to the Rotundo, and waited till the President again entered it, and then passed through and took his position in the east portico, about two yards from the door, drew his pistol from his inside coat pocket, cocked them, and held one in each hand, concealed by his coat, lest he should alarm the spectators—and states that as soon as the one in the right hand missed fire, he immediately dropped or exchanged it, and attempted to fire the second, before he was seized; he further stated that he aimed each pistol at the President's heart, and intended, if the first pistol had gone off, and the President had fallen, to have defended himself with the second, if defence had been necessary. On being asked if he did not expect to have been killed on the spot, if he killed the President, he replied he did not; and that he had no doubt but that he would have been protected by the spectators. He was frequently questioned whether he had any friends present whom he expected protection. To this he replied that he had never mentioned his intention to any one, and that no one in particular knew his design; but that he presumed it was generally known that he intended to put the President out of the way. He further stated, that when the President arrived at the door, near which he stood, finding him supported on the left by Mr. Woodbury, and observing many persons in his rear, and being himself rather to the right of the President, in order to avoid wounding Mr. Woodbury, and those in the rear, he stepped a little to his own right, so that should the ball pass through the body of the President, it would be received by the door-frame, or stone wall. On being asked if he felt no trepidation during the attempt, he replied, not the slightest, until he found that the second pistol had missed fire. Then observing that the President was advancing upon him, with an uplifted cane, he feared it contained a sword, which might have been thrust through him before he could have been protected by the crowd. And when interrogated as to the motive which induced him to attempt the assassination of the President, he replied, that he had been told that the President had caused his loss of occupation, and the consequent want of money, and he believed that to put him out of the way, was the only

remedy for this evil; but to the interrogator, who told you this? he could not identify any one, but remarked that his brother-in-law, Mr. Redfern, told him that he would have no more business, because he was opposed to the President—and he believed Redfern to be in league with the President against him. Again, being questioned, whether he had often attended the debates in Congress, during the present session, and whether they had influenced him in making this attack on the person of the President, he replied no. When asked whom he wished to be the President, his answer was, there were persons in the House of Representatives, on being asked if there were no persons in the Senate, yes, several; and it was the Senate to which I alluded. Who, in your opinion, of the Senate, would make a good President? He answered, Mr. Clay, Mr. Webster, Mr. Calhoun. What do you think of Col. Benton, Mr. Van Buren, or Judge White, for President? He thought they would do well. On being asked if he knew any member of either House of Congress, he replied that he was a painter by trade, and had followed that occupation to the present time; but, of late, could not find steady employment; which had caused much pecuniary embarrassment with him; that he had been generally temperate in his habits, using ardent spirits moderately when at work; but, for the last three or four weeks, had not taken any; that he had never gambled, and in other respects had led a regular, sober life.

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